

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 126779 TOSEC 020175

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, SC, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

1. SUMMARY: UN SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON NAMIBIA BEGINS MAY 30. DISCUSSION WILL FOCUS UPON SOUTH AFRICA'S MAY 27 RESPONSE TO THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL REGARDING UNSC RES. 366 (DEC. 1974) WHICH DEMANDED THAT SOUTH AFRICA TAKE A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC ACTIONS REGARDING NAMIBIA INCLUDING THE TRANSFERRING OF POWER TO THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA WITH UN ASSISTANCE. IN ITS MAY 27 RESPONSE TO THE SYG AND IN OTHER RECENT PUBLIC AND PRIVATE STATEMENTS THE SAG HAS REITERATED ITS STANDING POLICY ON THE FUTURE OF NAMIBIA ALTHOUGH IT HAS MADE SOME CONFIDENTIAL

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GESTURES TOWARD THE AFRICAN POSITION ON SELF DETERMINATION AND CONSULTATION WITH THE UN AND AFRICAN ORGANIZATIONS WHICH WE THINK SHOULD BE EXPLORED. THE AFRICANS WILL UNDOUBTEDLY CONCLUDE THAT THE SAG HAS NOT COMPLIED WITH RES. 366, AND

THERE WILL BE STRONG PRESSURES IN THE UNSC TO ADOPT A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO OR OTHER CHAPTER VII ACTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. WE DO NOT YET KNOW THE CONTENTS OF A DRAFT RESOLUTION BEING PREPARED BY THE AFRICAN GROUP WHICH APPEARS TO BE SPLIT ON THE SANCTIONS ISSUE. WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE BRITISH AND FRENCH, USUN HAS MADE KNOWN TO APPROPRIATE DELEGATIONS OUR BELIEF THAT

NAMIBIAN SITUATION IS NOT A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE WITHIN THE TERMS OF CHAPTER VII. WE ARE PRESENTLY DISCUSSING WITH THE BRITISH AND FRENCH THE BEST MEANS OF ATTEMPTING TO INFLUENCE THE AFRICAN GROUP TO PRESENT A REALISTIC (NON-SANCTIONS) RESOLUTION. END SUMMARY.

2. SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON NAMIBIA BEGINNING MAY 30 STEMS FROM UNSC RESOLUTION 366 OF DECEMBER 17, 1974, WHICH DEMANDED THAT SOUTH AFRICA TAKE A SERIES OF ACTIONS REGARDING NAMIBIA, INCLUDING GIVING AN UNDERTAKING TO REMOVE ITS ADMINISTRATION FROM THE TERRITORY AND TO TRANSFER POWER TO THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE WITH UN ASSISTANCE, AND THE ISSUANCE OF A DECLARATION OF ITS COMPLIANCE WITH UN RESOLUTIONS AND THE 1971 ICJ ADVISORY OPINION REGARDING NAMIBIA AS WELL AS ITS RECOGNITION OF NAMIBIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AS A NATION. THE RESOLUTION, ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY, ALSO STATED THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD MEET BY MAY 30, 1975, TO REVIEW SOUTH AFRICA'S COMPLIANCE WITH THE VARIOUS DEMANDS.

3. IN APRIL YOU AUTHORIZED US TO JOIN WITH THE BRITISH AND FRENCH IN A JOINT APPROACH TO THE SAG TO PRESENT OUR VIEWS ON THE FUTURE OF NAMIBIA, WHICH WAS CARRIED OUT ON APRIL 22. ANOTHER IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT IN APRIL WAS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SPECIAL OAU COMMITTEE ON NAMIBIA. THIS COMMITTEE, COMPOSED OF THE SEVEN AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE UN COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE OAU, WAS CHARGED WITH FACILITATING CONTACT BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND SWAPO (THE NAMIBIAN LIBERATION
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GROUP), PROVIDED SOUTH AFRICA RECOGNIZED THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE, RESPECTED NAMIBIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND RECOGNIZED SWAPO AS THE ONLY LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE.

4. FOLLOWING MONTHS OF SILENCE, THE SAG ADDRESSED IN LATE MAY THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION IN RESPONDING TO THE TRIPARTITE DEMARCHE AND UNSC RES. 366. IT REITERATED ITS STANDING POLICY ON NAMIBIA, INCLUDING THE STIPULATION THAT ALL OPTIONS, INCLUDING UNITARY INDEPENDENCE, ARE OPEN TO THE INHABITANTS OF NAMIBIA WHO WILL DETERMINE THEIR OWN POLITICAL FUTURE WITHOUT OUTSIDE, INCLUDING SAG, INTER-

REFERENCE. NO TIMETABLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE TERRITORY WAS GIVEN.

A NEW ELEMENT IN THE SAG POSITION IS THE EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS OF PRIME MINISTER VORSTER TO MEET WITH THE CURRENT PRESIDENT OF THE UN COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA (ZAMBIAN UN AMBASSADOR, RUPIAH BANDA, WHO HAS JUST BEEN NAMED FOREIGN MINISTER) AND THE SPECIAL OAU COMMITTEE ON NAMIBIA.

5. THE SAG HAS APPARENTLY CONCLUDED THAT THE ABOVE FORMULATION OF ITS POLICY ON THE FUTURE OF NAMIBIA BEST RESPONDS TO INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PRESSURES. THE MAINTENANCE OF STANDING POLICIES, AND THE LACK OF INITIATIVES TO COMPLY WITH AT LEAST SOME OF THE DEMANDS OF RESOLUTION 366 WOULD SEEM DESIGNED TO REASSURE WHITE OPINION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE PHRASING OF SAG POLICY IS RESPONSIVE IN PART TO INTERNATIONAL, PARTICULARLY TRIPARTITE, CONCERNS OVER THE FUTURE OF NAMIBIA. SAG WILLINGNESS TO HOLD DISCUSSIONS WITH UN, OAU AND UN COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA REPRESENTATIVES REGARDING NAMIBIA APPEARS DESIGNED TO MODERATE INTERNATIONAL ADVERSE REACTION TO THE NEGATIVE SAG STAND ON UN SUPERVISION OF THE SELF-DETERMINATION PROCESS AND THE LACK OF REAL FORWARD MOVEMENT TOWARD COMPLIANCE WITH RESOLUTION 366.

6. AS THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE ON NAMIBIA OPENS, THE AFRICAN GROUP APPARENTLY IS STILL SPLIT ON THE ISSUE OF SANCTIONS. THE AFRICANS MIGHT WELL ESCHEW SPECIFIC
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CHAPTER VII REFERENCES TO AVOID A CONFRONTATION WITH THE WEST AND A POSSIBLE VETO, SETTLING INSTEAD FOR MORE AMBIGUOUS CALL FOR A RECOMMENDATORY ARMS EMBARGO OR ECONOMIC BOYCOTT, BUT THE MORE RADICAL ELEMENTS COULD PREVAIL AND INSIST ON SANCTIONS. WE ARE PRESENTLY DISCUSSING WITH THE BRITISH AND FRENCH IN THE UN HOW BEST TO INFLUENCE THE AFRICANS TO TABLE REALISTIC (NON-CHAPTER VII) RESOLUTION LANGUAGE ON THIS POINT, MAKING CLEAR OUR BELIEF THAT THE CURRENT SITUATION IN NAMIBIA DOES NOT CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO THE PEACE IN THE CONTEXT OF CHAPTER VII.

7. WE ARE DRAFTING A STATEMENT WHICH WOULD: A) NEITHER CONDEMN NOR SUPPORT THE RECENT SAG POLICY STATEMENTS ON NAMIBIA BUT RATHER URGE CAREFUL STUDY OF THE MAY 27 SAG RESPONSE TO RES. 366; B) ENCOURAGE CONTINUING EFFORTS TO INDUCE THE SAG TO TAKE CONCRETE ACTIONS FOR PROMPT SELF-DETERMINATION; AND C) SUPPORT EXPLORATORY CONTACTS BETWEEN THE SAG AND UNSYG, OAU AND UN COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA REPRESENTATIVES, AS A FOLLOWUP TO THE RECENT SAG COMMUNICATIONS AND AS A TEST OF THE SAG'S INTENTIONS. WE WILL PROBABLY SPEAK EARLY NEXT WEEK. INGERSOLL

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